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Community Resilience and Visual Art: Responses to the Manchester Arena attack.

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ABSTRACT

Psychological literature has recognised the importance of community resilience in the wake of traumatic events. However, there is a distinct lack of qualitative research that analyses community responses to terrorism. This research aimed to provide in-depth, qualitative data to explain and understand Manchester's community response to the Manchester Arena attack on Monday 22nd May 2017.

Thirty two pieces of art, objects and murals were located in and around Manchester that were created after the arena attack and photographed by the researcher. Thematic analysis was then carried out and identified key themes which would explain Manchester's community resilience; (1) time, (2) location, (3) content, (4) meaning, (5) emotions, (6) audience and (7) commercialisation.

This study supports the view that Manchester is a resilient community which in the face of terror, Manchester's artistic habitants stand together to support each other and use their skills to express their resilience to terrorism, using the Manchester worker bee as their preferred symbol. However, Manchester is also an entrepreneurial city in which corporations and local businesses have also shown their solidarity with the victims of the attack by displaying their own tributes in the windows of their premises, often 'We love Manchester'.

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| KEY WORDS: | VISUAL ART | MANCHESTER | TERRORIST ATTACK | VISUAL METHODS | RESILLIENCE |
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Introduction

The Manchester Attack

On Monday 22nd May 2017, a suicide bomber detonated a device in the foyer of the Manchester Arena as concert-goers had begun to depart a concert by the pop star Ariana Grande. The bomb killed twenty-two individuals, as well as caused further injury, both physical and psychological to others in attendance. Due to Ariana Grande's concert attracting a youthful audience, ten of the victims on the night were under the age of twenty, the youngest of which was eight years old. The Manchester Arena attack caused the most fatalities in the United Kingdom since the London bombings on 7th July 2005 and was the first terrorist attack in Manchester since the IRA bomb on 15th June 1996 (Maidment, 2017).

Following the Manchester attack, the community in Manchester was praised for the ways in which people came together to support the victims of the attack. Taxi drivers offered free services on the night of the attack, driving survivors wherever they needed to go whilst local residents and hotels offered those affected a place to stay via the hashtag #RoomsForManchester (Boult, 2017).

Psychological Literature on Terrorism

Post (2007) defines terrorism as an act of violence at any time or in any place against civilians in order to achieve a political, ideological or religious desire through the use of fear and intimidation. With cities in the UK being so diverse, terrorists can often be indistinguishable from other members of the community, therefore when they attack, it sets a precedence of fear and mistrust, which in turn makes their acts of violence more impactful. Often this can be the cause of segregation within communities which causes disruption to cities that need cohesion for the community to be peaceful, friendly and inclusive. Acts of terrorism have existed for many years (Callaway and Harrelson-Stephens, 2006), however, the face of terrorism has changed over time in the UK. From the IRA being England's biggest threat to other terrorist groups such as the Al-Queda. With the emergence of ISIS in 2013, the most currently active terrorist group have not only instilled fear in Iraq and Syria, but have also generated terror in the rest of the world (Liu and Pratt, 2017).

Despite a large amount of research on terrorism existing, the majority of psychological literature surrounding the topic has tended to focus on understanding terrorists (Post, 2009), the psychological impact of terrorism (Silke, 2003) and the effect of post-traumatic stress on children (Saraiya et al., 2013) and adults (Scott et al., 2013).

Post (2009) analysed terrorist group members from the IRA to the Al-Qaeda, shedding light on how a terrorist mind works and what can be done to prevent terrorism. Post concludes that to defeat terrorism, terrorist groups must be marginalised. This may seem inexplicable to some communities, however, in some societies joining a terrorist group is viewed as no different to joining the police or

indeed the army. This study builds upon Post's work, succeeding his argument that communities can play a part in the process of marginalising terrorist groups.

Silke (2003) conducted a psychological analysis on terrorists, the impact of terrorism on victims and societies responses to terrorism. Silke recognises that communities are not just dealing with terrorist groups anymore, rather they are dealing with fanatical religionists with a unique perspective about how they want society to be. Silke's analyses of psychological literature concludes that the majority of people are resilient to terrorism due to different methods of coping. Silke's research is beneficial to the present study as it indicates individual and community reactions to terrorism.

Psychologists have recognised that there is clearly a need to understand what the psychiatric consequences are of terrorist attacks, so in preparation for further attacks, mental health interventions can be put in place for the victims (Pollack, 2002). This statement from Pollack (2002) suggests that terrorism is becoming normalised within communities and like natural disasters, are seen to transpire organically. Within psychological literature on community resilience becoming more prevalent, many psychologists have related terrorism to natural disasters such as hurricanes, tsunamis and volcanic eruption. Cutter et al (2008) suggests that once a community experiences a natural disaster, the community can use this experience as an opportunity to be increasingly prepared for the possibility of this event happening again and that this would increase resilience. However, this literature also suggests that community competence factors can also influence resilience if an event such as a natural disaster was ever to happen, this perspective could also be applied to terrorist attacks. If a community has a local understanding of risk, quality counselling services, high rates of health and wellness as well as high satisfaction of quality of life, this will have an effect on a community's resilience to different events.

With terrorism becoming one of the most damaging threats to communities, psychological research questions whether there is anything that can be done to minimise the destructive aftermath of terrorist attacks (Silke, 2003)

In the aftermath of a traumatic event, psychologists have claimed that to recover, a person must transform from a disorganised psychological state where they see themselves as a victim; to having an ordered sense of well-being where they can view themselves as a survivor. This involves undergoing cognitive processing which is essential for an individual to adapt to a post-terrorist attack world (Figley, 1985). The same theory can also be considered alongside other types of trauma such as sexual assault, domestic abuse, serious accidents or illness.

Previously, psychological research has acknowledged that communities often come together in response to acts of terrorism, noting that communities show pride in their response and growth as they come together (Silke, 2003; Spalek, 2013). The notion that communities can defeat and deter terrorism has become a popular counter-terrorism motto, communities are recently being viewed as being at the heart of the fight against terrorism (Briggs, Fieschi and Lownsborough, 2006).

However, it could be argued that it is not entirely the responsibility of communities to deter terrorism. Previously there have been developments by political parties to achieve the end of terrorism within their communities such as 'the Good Friday Agreement' which was key to bringing peace between Northern Ireland's political parties and the British and Irish governments (Byrne, 2002). This suggests that political groups may be the key to deterring terrorist groups.

Historical Context

Manchester is an entrepreneurial city due to its industrial history and its extensive urban regeneration (Hetherington, 2007). During the 1780's when Manchester was nicknamed Cottonopolis, the Manchester community vastly grew and became a very open town in which people from all over Europe migrated to (Taylor et al., 2002).

However, after the IRA bombing on Saturday 15th June 1996, widespread damage occurred to the commercial core of Manchester city centre which displaced a vast amount of businesses. This provided an opportunity for modern regeneration and improvement to the city centre which saw Manchester reinvent itself (Beswick, 2011; Williams, 2000). The IRA bombing brought about a solid sense of Manchester pride, in which the community's response clearly stated, 'our city would not be beaten' (Peck and Ward, 2002). In the aftermath of the bombing, the media and the city's government proudly displayed the resilience of the community with one newspaper headline reading, 'They went for the heart of Manchester, but missed the soul' (Holden, 2002).

Manchester aimed to be a consumer driven local economy with opportunities for tourism and retail with place marketing and branding. From this idea, the bomb affected area was replaced with a millennium centre which held space for a museum, new retail stores, luxury apartments as well as bars and eateries (Hetherington, 2007). Since this regeneration, Manchester has always been on a path to improvement (Peck and Ward, 2002), it has spent three decades rapidly regenerating and growing to become the vibrant and imaginative city it is today, full of museums, art galleries and an undeniable buzz (Herron, 2015; Worsley, 2002).

Manchester's success could be attributed to many factors such as its location, local assets, airport expansion and its knowledge factories (Paxton, 2016).

However, Manchester's deindustrialisation cannot be ignored, for a community that showed pride in its identity of 'no-nonsense graft and money-making', the decline in manufacturing and employment hit Manchester hard during the 1970's (Tallon, 2013). Manchester remains a work in progress and whilst transformations were still ongoing in 2002, it cannot be overlooked that at the same time successful urban revolution was happening, decline in other areas of the city were becoming increasingly worse such as a high amount of local deprivation, low wages and native residents feeling isolated whilst other areas of the city remained very affluent (Peck and Ward, 2002).

Only eight years after Urbis opened to showcase Manchester's inner-city life and successful history through temporary exhibitions, Urbis transformed into The National Football Museum. Some Manchester habitants saw this as an upsetting change and that no mono-cultural sport could rival or substitute Manchester's history. Beswick (2011) proposed that the community remained undiluted from this change and other ordeals as well as Manchester remaining to be a community that makes imaginative use of spaces for inventive purposes. Beswick argued that it is this that keeps Manchester an exceptional place to be and grow. Manchester is seen as playing home to a prosperous and diverse imaginative community (Walsh, 2017).

The Manchester Bee

The worker bee is a famous symbol of Manchester and has represented the city for over 150 years. The worker bee has been used to represent the community's work ethic during the industrial revolution, and the city's constant buzz of activity (Manchester Central, 2018). The symbol of the bee has been imprinted on the mosaic floor of the town hall for many years as a tribute to the Mancunian's who had faith in



Figure 1. Manchester bee printed on the mosaic floor of the Town Hall.

the city (Beswick, 2011). Over the years the Manchester bee has faded somewhat into the background as 'We Love MCR' became a new branding of the community following the 2011 riots, including signs appearing in and around Manchester featuring the 'We Love MCR' logo and text stating 'show your love for Manchester'. The aim of this campaign was to encourage inhabitants to come together and show pride for the city (Manchester Evening News, 2011). However, in 2014 the council commissioned for 600 public waste bins to appear around Manchester displaying a honeycomb design and bee logo which has since become the cachet of Manchester once again (Naylor, 2017; Williams, 2014).

In the wake of the Manchester attack on Monday 22nd May 2017, the Manchester bee became more than just a council-friendly symbol of Manchester's past hard work, it has come to represent a new meaning of unity and solidarity which was prevalent in the community following the Manchester Arena attack (Manchester City Council, 2018). The morning after the Manchester Attack, the bee symbol materialised in every corner of the city and was highly prevalent on social media, often appearing with slogans such as 'bee strong, bee Manchester' and 'stay strong our kid'. Tattoo artists in and around Manchester donated money from 'Manchester

bee' tattoos to the emergency fund for the victims of the arena attack, which saw thousands of people choosing to show their solidarity and support for victims of the attack by permanently inking themselves with this very symbol. All of this works to illustrate how communities within Manchester were united as the council and people who involved themselves in the art culture in Manchester embraced the symbol of the bee.

Resilience

Resilience can be defined as positive adaptation in the context of significant risk (Ungar, 2008). Within communities, the ability to cope after disasters is dependent upon community resilience (Inbar, 2010). The majority of people are likely to be exposed to a life-threatening or violent situation within their life-time. Resilience reflects the community's ability to successfully maintain a stable equilibrium after an incident like this (Bonanno, 2004). This research highlights how the Manchester community made positive adaptations to cope in the wake of the Manchester Arena attack.

Despite the growing importance of community resilience, the concept remains largely under-researched by community psychologists (Figley, 2012). However, some psychological theory suggests that resilience within a community is based on four adaptive capacities that contribute to adaptation following a traumatic event: economic development, information and communication, community competence and social capital (Norris et al., 2008). This theory makes suggestions as to what perhaps would make a successful intervention to make communities more resilient after experiencing traumatic events.

Murals

The movement of painting murals in communities began in the late sixties and appeared more commonly within big cities, these murals were seen to represent anxieties of the community. Artists who create the murals tend to be from the community itself or work with individuals within the community to gain a deep understanding of the issues (Barnett, 1984). Murals can have a powerful effect on emotions and beliefs within an individual as well as serving the purpose of conveying messages to the community and outsiders, they stand as a visual representation of social depictions of the community. Murals are seen as important due to their capacity to be recognised as a symbol and their messages to be understood, with many local residents showing pride towards the murals within their community (Finn, 1997). Community Murals remain as a public demonstration (Barnett, 1984).

Previously, psychological research has explored murals in relation to terrorism and terror, discussing in-depth the meaning and the content of these objects as well as the impact they have had on communities. Mitchell (2011) adopted a political psychology stance and analysed images of 'the war on terror' and how one particular image can become the face of a tragic event. The research documents how responses to terrorist attacks can be shown to others through visual narratives.

Finn (2013) conducted a qualitative analysis of murals in Northern Ireland, this became a psychological examination of the ideologies of conflict in Northern Ireland drawing upon images of the murals that are particularly prevalent in the Northern Irish community. Finn's approach also required talking to participants with particular murals in mind and found that some participants felt proud that the murals had become a part of Belfast and represented community expression. Finn's research

highlights how images and murals can become a part of the community and can be used in psychological examination to analyse communities different social representations and responses to acts of political violence and terrorism.

Research Aims & Questions

The aim of this research is to explore visual expressions of community solidarity and resilience demonstrated by the Manchester community after the terrorist attack at Manchester Arena on 22nd May 2017. This will be achieved through an exploration of the artefacts that appeared in Manchester following the attack. This qualitative analysis aims to provide in-depth data that will explain and help others understand community responses to terrorism.

1. How did Manchester as a community respond to the Manchester Attack in May 2017?
2. What did the murals that appeared in Manchester following the attack show and say about the community?
3. Was there any similar themes across the artefacts created by the Manchester community?

Methodology

Data Collection

To conduct a study of Manchester's murals, it was necessary to document them and this was done by the medium of photography, which was recognised as a valuable method in the social sciences (Rose, 2012). Photographs can offer precise records of a particular time in urban landscapes and can encode a vast amount of information in one single representation (Collier, 1967; Grady 2004). Murals were located using hashtag searches on the phone app 'Instagram' such as

'#ManchesterBee' and '#forevermanchester' as well as through word of mouth from Manchester habitants.

Some of the murals were also found by the humble method of walking around Manchester. Concurrently, background information about each mural found was studied as well as the date and development of its production and its supposed purpose. Research background information about each mural in person and online was necessary in order to identify each mural as a representation of the community reaction to the Manchester Arena Attack.

The analysis of murals using a walkaround method to explore community strength following the attack was chosen due to the way in which the murals openly responded with such a traumatic event (Emmel and Clark, 2011). Taking photographs of the murals in Manchester, allowed for a non-intrusive approach of the community response to the Manchester Arena attack.

Due to murals often having a variable time period (Hayes, 1997), photo taking began as soon as ethical approval was acquired (January 2018) until May 2018. Although data collection did not begin until January 2018, it was common knowledge in Manchester that many of the murals appeared within the first month after the Manchester Attack. Most murals were photographed using a Canon 1100D, however, a phone camera was used if a mural was found when data collection was not taking place.

Data Analysis

Thematic analysis was employed as the chosen method to identify and analyse common themes within the visual qualitative data, this method was chosen for this research as it allows for freedom to explore qualitative data in great detail (Braun

and Clarke, 2013). As well as thematic analysis (APPX 3), Rose's (2001) visual methodology framework was adapted to focus more explicitly on murals. A list of questions were devised in relation to Rose's three categories for where meanings are seen as being made and modified to better fit analysis of murals (APPX 2). Therefore, when conducting a thematic analysis of the artefacts; a list of questions were viewed in relation to the production of the art, the components of the art and the relationship between the art and the community, to support development of codes and identification of running themes.

Ethical Considerations

Ethical approval was obtained and granted by the dissertation supervisor in line with the BPS code of conduct and the university's own ethics (APPX 1). Due to the nature of this topic and the time frame in which the research was carried out, it was important to be non-intrusive to those affected by the Manchester Arena attack. Therefore, participants were not used in this research and instead a visual method of data collection was carried out.

A visual method of collecting data felt the most appropriate way of researching this topic as the Manchester community reaction was mostly shown through the use of art and objects. Therefore, by using photography to analyse the artefacts created by the Manchester community, it captured the data more accurately in a non-intrusive manner than it would have been to interview participants directly or write descriptions.

Whilst carrying out this research it was also important to focus on researcher ethics. Due to the researcher experiencing the Manchester Arena attack, it was important to

avoid exploring this topic in a way that could potentially be distressing to the researcher.

Analysis and Discussion

Time



Figure 2. Mural in Afflecks Palace in Manchester's City Centre

This 3D MCR heart was created the day after the terror attack on Manchester. This mural was placed in several locations around the city centre for a duration of three weeks. With the mural being made entirely out of paper and glue, Liam Hopkins (the creator) wanted this object to represent the fragility of the community's emotions and the Mancunian spirit that brought the community together in the aftermath of something tragic (APPX 3).

Due to this mural being created the day after the Manchester attack, this suggests the urgency members of the community felt that they had to do something creative to support the city and to unite the community together. This mural clearly states solidarity with the victims of the attack and those who were hurt and affected using its heart imagery. The use of black and yellow could be interpreted to represent Manchester itself as they are the colours of the symbol that represents Manchester

the most, the bee. This mural was the beginning of artistic dedications to those affected by the attack and started a trend across Manchester.

This mural is also very different from other artefacts created in the days that followed the Manchester Arena attack as it travelled to different locations around the community for a duration of three weeks. This could represent the community spirit that overtook the communities within Manchester. Habitants of Manchester packed out a vigil in Albert Square the day after the attack to mourn the tragic event as well as bunches of flowers adorning the pavements of St Ann's Square. This message clearly redisplay Manchester's community spirit after the IRA bomb in 1996 (Holden, 2002).

Location

The majority of the murals, art and objects inhabit the city centre, this suggests that these artefacts serve a purpose of acting as a daily reminder that the community stand in solidarity with the victims of the attack and do not support terrorism and the spreading of hatred and fear (Finn, 1997). Due to most of the murals being created in the Northern Quarter, this represents what type of community that area of Manchester belongs to. With Northern Quarter being full of independent stores, bars and cafés; this area could be considered the arts hub of Manchester city centre. Within Stevenson Square, many of the disused public spaces are used for graffiti and art that often changes after news or a big event. For example, after David Bowie's death a portrait of him resided where a mural for the Manchester Arena attack is currently placed. With every street corner turned, there is usually a piece of art adorning the side of a building, loudly conveying messages to the community and visitors of Manchester.



Figure 3. Mural on side of apartment block on Houldsworth Street, Ancoats, Manchester.

Compared to other artwork symbolising the bee, this large bee is more artistic as the bee is filled and made up of patterns of flowers and love hearts. This mural decorates a block of apartments in Northern Quarter boldly, perhaps representing the message 'Bee Strong, Bee Manchester' which was a common phrase used after the Manchester Arena attack, encouraging Manchester habitants to stay strong and resilient. With a heart being worked into the body of the bee, it suggests the council-friendly phrase, 'We Love MCR' as well as the bee being symbolic of the Manchester community.



Figure 4. Mural on Lever Street apartment block, Manchester City Centre.

Through so many bees standing tall above the city by adorning the sides of buildings, it suggests there is a large presence of strength and spirit within the Manchester community. The consistent redisplaying of the Manchester bee all over the Northern Quarter can be seen as representative of the sheer amount of people within the community coming together on the night of the attack, offering free taxi services and a place to stay to those affected. The use of the bee in the Northern Quarter murals compared to artefacts well within the city centre can be interpreted that this symbol of Manchester is more accepted by the Northern Quarter's artistic community than the council's preferred phrase 'We Love MCR'.

However, there are not only artefacts lining the streets of the city centre, murals have been found within different communities of Manchester representing the solidarity along with the city centre habitants.



Figure 5. Mural at 'The Garden House' community project farm, Marple, Stockport.

The mural presented above resides in a community project farm in Marple, Stockport. Through the location of this mural it shows the importance of community spirit in Manchester and how important it is to the community to come together to

work on different projects. Perhaps the mural also represents the county of Marple strongly portraying themselves as part of the Manchester community to show their solidarity with those affected by the attack. This mural features twenty two bees similar to other artwork seen in the city centre, however, this mural is different to others as by the side of each bee features the name of each victim of the attack, creating a more personal dynamic.



Figure 6 and Figure 7. Mural on the side and opposite of Playfoots Café located in Eccles, Salford.

These two murals presented in Eccles suggest how the communities within Manchester see the image of the bee as a true representation of the community spirit in Manchester, rather than other symbols/logos such as the 'We Love MCR' phrase. The bee symbolises the buzz of activity within Manchester communities and this increased artistic bustle that was apparent after the Manchester attack when artists within the community came together to dedicate murals to those affected.



Figure 8. Carved tree into a candle with a bee featuring on it. Found outside of the city centre in Longford park Chorlton, Stretford.

Content

Many of the murals, art and objects that reside in Manchester have similar themes and unique differences, this may depend on the time they were created, the location, the audience and their purpose. This present mural is simple but effective at portraying the reaction of the Manchester community to the attack at the arena.



Figure 9. Mural on West Mosley Street, Manchester City Centre.

However, unlike other artefacts, without its text of the phrase ‘we stand together’, inhabitants and visitors of Manchester would find it hard to derive a message and any emotions from it. Perhaps its child-like imagery is representative of the majority of attendees at the Ariana Grande concert that night.

The message of this mural to the community respectively states one of the main phrases used in speeches at the vigil and messages on social media after the arena attack, ‘We Stand Together’. This message captured Manchester’s community values of not allowing acts of violence and hatred divide the strong, cohesive and diverse community that Manchester is proud of (Lloyd, 2018; Osuh, 2017). It was noted at the end of August 2017 that racially motivated hate-crimes had increased after the three terrorist attacks that happened in the UK within one month (Travis, 2017). However, the community of Manchester stood together in solidarity and didn’t want to allow acts of violence to cause segregation within the community.



Figure 10. Mural in industrial area of Ancoats, Mason St, Manchester City Centre.

Due to the symbol of the bee taking on a new meaning after the Manchester Arena attack, many inhabitants of Manchester and attendees at the Ariana Grande concert made the decision to have this symbol permanently tattooed on their skin, this represented their unity and solidarity with those affected by the attack. An estimated ten thousand members of the Manchester community raised thousands for the victims of the attack as all money gained from bee tattoos was donated to the Manchester emergency fund. Manchester tattoo artists worked endless hours at no cost to ensure they could provide this service to the community to create further representations of unity and solidarity (Perraudin, 2018).



Figure 11. Manchester bee tattoo.

With so many artefacts created after the Manchester arena attack mainly using imagery of the bee, perhaps in line with Carl Jung's archetype theory, the bee will become a universally known archetype of Manchester in which different communities will see the bee and immediately associate it with the Manchester community (Walters, 1994).

Meaning

Murals are seen as important within communities as they give habitants a chance to convey their emotions and beliefs in a visual representation that can convey a purposeful message to the entire community (Finn, 1997).



Figure 12 and 13. Murals in Stevenson Square, Northern Quarter, Manchester City Centre.

Within a week after the Manchester Arena attack, these two murals appeared in Stevenson Square in Manchester City Centre's Northern Quarter, an area of the city renowned for its innovative street art (Smith, 2017). Similar to the response of Manchester's community to the IRA bomb in 1996, the bombing brought about a sense of Manchester pride and solidarity with the victims of the Manchester attack (Peck and Ward, 2002), which gives us insight into why the community's artists rapidly came together to paint these murals.

Both of these murals can be clearly recognised as a symbol of Manchester by its use of bee imagery (Finn, 1997; Manchester City Council, 2018). Created back-to-back on what used to be a public toilet, the murals represent peace and love within the Manchester community as Manchester's habitants united against terrorism and hate.

Emotions

Countless artefacts created in the time frame of the Manchester Arena attack to the anniversary portray the emotions, messages and thoughts of the Manchester community. This present mural displays the notion that community spirit and resilience can be one of the ways in which terrorism will be prevented and defeated (Briggs et al, 2006).



Figure 14. Mural located in Stevenson Square, Northern Quarter, Manchester City Centre.

This mural based in Stevenson Square, Northern Quarter, clearly displays Manchester's community strength and resilience. After the Manchester attack thousands of members of the Manchester community gathered in Albert Square

visibly showing their lack of fear less than twenty-four hours after the attack at the arena, defying terrorism's aim to tear apart the community and weaken Manchester's spirit. 'No fear here' became a statement from the Manchester community after the attack. Manchester didn't want to let terrorism scare the community into fearing taking part in the big events that followed the Manchester attack. These included events such as Ariana Grande's one love concert which was organised within two weeks of the attack. This mural represents the community carrying on as usual and taking part in big events, displaying a message of defiance to the terrorists and the true Manchester spirit of 'doing things differently'.



Figure 15. Mural located on Cambridge St, Manchester City Centre.

'We stand together' became one of the main phrases used within the Manchester community after the attack to show support to those affected and to relay the message that the community will not be divided by hate.



Figure 16. Mural located in Piccadilly Basin car park, Manchester City Centre.

The statement was also a trending declaration all over social media, as members of the online community used it to show support and send love for the victims of the Manchester Arena attack throughout the night of Monday 22nd May 2017. This phrase also again reflected Manchester's values with a strengthening purpose of not allowing hate to divide the community in the face of terrorism.

This mural represents how prevalent social media is in the 21st century and its many uses. This piece of art shows the differences between murals made in 2017/2018 compared to other murals that stand for political messages to the community and other memorial public murals (Columbus, 2007; Finn, 1997). This artwork opens up questions as to why artists are confident in using the use of hashtags in creation of murals representative of this tragic event. However, perhaps this could have been because of the importance placed on social media throughout the night of the Manchester attack as Manchester habitants used the hashtag

'#roomsformanchester' on social media to offer up their homes to people affected and caught up in the tragedy as well as another hashtag, '#missinginmanchester' where Twitter users posted pictures of their loved ones with hopes to hear any news or sightings of their family members.

Although before the Manchester Attack, it has not been prevalent that hashtags have been used on a physical mural, '#NeverForget' is often an expression used on social media. This phrase is meant to urge others to remember tragedies and has become a trend in the 21st century along with the growing of technology becoming increasingly a part of individuals day to day lives (Bilton, 2018).

Therefore, this mural illustrates the differences between murals created after the Manchester attack compared to artefacts created after other terrorist attacks. For example, after the London Bridge attack in June 2017, a simple mural was created on the arch of London Bridge which features multicoloured spotted hearts with no use of text or hashtags, as well as this mural, flowers were placed at the scene of the attack (Rail Staff, 2018). Perhaps, this has more to do with Manchester being such an innovative and artistic community which also links with how many murals were created and the way in which they were represented in Manchester in comparison with tributes to the London attacks that happened during the summer of 2017.

Audience



Figure 17. Mural located on the side of an independent business, The Koffee Pot, Northern Quarter, Manchester City Centre.

The intention of many of the murals was to show solidarity and support for the victims of the attack and to remind those Manchester habitants to not let violence and hate segregate the community. However, another audience became a viewer of the artefacts created in Manchester when pictures of the murals appeared all over social media and in newspapers online, reinventing the Manchester community spirit to an online community.

This specific mural became very popular, with over a hundred photographic replications of the piece of art appearing on the Koffee Pot's tagged location on the social media app 'Instagram'. By sharing images of the artefacts on personal social media accounts, this allows the online community to articulate their solidarity and support for those affected by the Manchester attack.

Perhaps this specific mural resonated with Manchester habitants and the online community specifically as it was the first mural to feature exactly twenty-two bees to represent the twenty-two victims of the attack. The mural is very eye-catching due to

its size and captures the message the Manchester community chose to show after the attack, that of love and strength.

This mural may have become a tourist attraction for people outside of the Manchester community to come and pay their respects to the victims of the arena attack. With Manchester having a pre-established cultural resonance with many from beyond the city in the form of music, football and industry (Peck and Ward, 2002), this may attract fans of Manchester to come to the city and show solidarity with the Manchester community.

This has been shown before following other traumatic events in communities such as the 9/11 attack in New York. The national September 11 memorial and museum has become an attraction to tourists visiting New York, who want to pay their respects to those lives lost in the 9/11 attack (Miller, 2011).

Commercialisation

The artistic response of the Manchester community to show solidarity with those affected had mainly been created by Manchester's creative residents. However, after the attack many corporations showed their solidarity by displaying 'We Love MCR' stickers and banners in their shop windows. After the Summer they had started to fade from the community, although, a week before the first anniversary of the Arena attack, many tributes by corporations had started to appear around Manchester streets once more.



Figure 18 & 19. Banner and advertisement put up outside McDonald's, Manchester Oxford Road and Pizza Hut, Manchester City Centre.

This can be perceived as business chains trying to identify with the Manchester community in their own way of redisplaying Manchester Council's friendly phrase of 'We Love Manchester'. With McDonald's being the first to display this message to Manchester habitants, on the day of the anniversary of the attack many other businesses followed suit including Manchester's Palace Theatre. This seems to be businesses wanting to show their own pride and solidarity with the Manchester community and doing what Manchester does best, entrepreneurialism.



Figure 19 & 20. Posters outside of the Palace Theatre and Pizza Express on the anniversary of the attack.

However, a Manchester's Wetherspoons 'The Paramount' offered their own more personal tribute to those affected by proudly displaying a bee and honeycomb design featuring the number 'twenty-two' in the window of the pub which could be interpreted as more local-friendly.



Figure 21. Mural in the window of the Paramount, Manchester City Centre.

Similarly, this has been done before with companies such as AT&T and Coca-Cola wanting to pay tribute to those affected by the 9/11 attack in New York. However, it was generally poorly perceived online and taken down after the companies received public backlash (Byrne, 2013; Huffington Post, 2013; Walker, 2016).

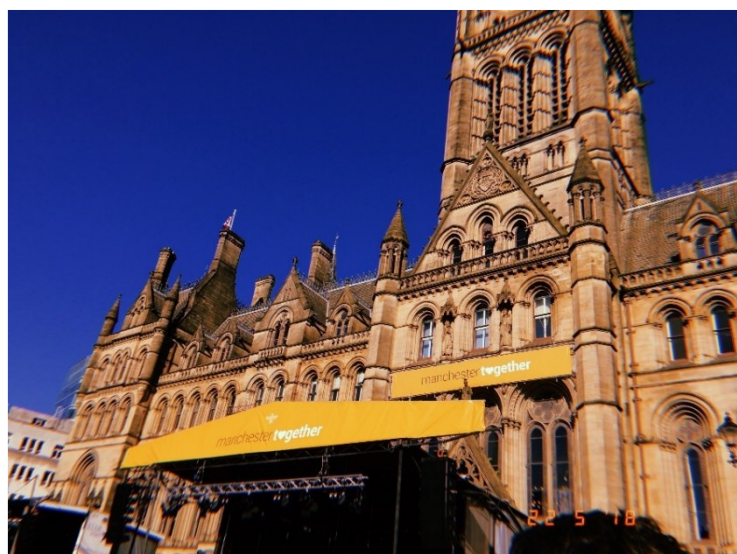
Although perhaps some of the corporations located in Manchester were not informed of the new branding of tributes to those affected by Manchester City Council like Boots were, who proudly showed the new design for the anniversary of the attack that was also featured at the vigil held in Albert Square on Tuesday 22nd May 2018.



Figure 22. Poster in the window of Boots, Manchester City Centre.

The new representation of Manchester's City Council seems to be more representative of the community spirit in Manchester after the attack, rather than the use of 'We love Manchester' that was originally created in wake of the 2011 riots.

The new design represents Manchester coming together as a community to show solidarity and resilience in spite of the attack, as well as to celebrate the lives of the twenty-two victims who lost their lives on that night.



Strengths and Limitations

There are some strengths and limitations connected with this present research. The research provided a vast amount of artefacts created after the Manchester attack in communities of Manchester, all the notable ones were photographed and collected as data. The range of data collected allows for in-depth discussion and comparison between the artefacts creating an understanding of Manchester's community reaction to the terror attack in May 2017. However, there are limitations to this study in relation to the method of data collection. Due to the Manchester Arena attack being such a sensitive topic to discuss within a year of its happening, this meant the researcher had to find a non-intrusive way of analysing the community's reaction. Perhaps interviews with the artists themselves would have provided more information and increasingly accurate analysis of the artefacts created. Although, not all artists could have been identified from their pieces of work found within Manchester's community.

Summary

Manchester as a community showed resilience through expressing their community values in the form of art, objects and murals; conveying messages of unity, peace and love to habitants and visitors of Manchester as well as to the online community in the wake of the Manchester Arena attack. In line with Manchester's history of entrepreneurialism, corporations showed solidarity by identifying with Manchester's residents and using art to convey messages of resilience.

Reflexive Analysis

In September 2016, I had begun to work at Manchester Arena as part of their food and beverage team which included working on the night of the Ariana Grande concert. As this traumatic event has become a big part of my life, I was constantly thinking about it. However, I wanted to learn to reflect on the event in a more positive light, which meant deciding to focus on the positive outcome of how the community of Manchester came together and showed their strength to the rest of the world.

After personally experiencing the arena attack, I conducted the study hoping to find the murals representing the strength I had seen in the Manchester community, I wanted to write a piece of research that would show people how resilient Manchester is. Whilst collecting photographs of the artefacts in and around Manchester, I found comfort, reminding me that Manchester will not be divided by violence and hatred. I was aware that my personal experience of the attack may have been reflected in the study, however, I feel I remained neutral when understanding and analysing the data.

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